

The Lord Delamere's LETTER to his Tenants at *Warrington*, in *Lancashire*, Answered; By one of his Lordship's Tenants.

*Hec adeo ex illo mihi jam speranda fuerunt  
Tempore, cum ferro Cælestia Corpora demens  
Appetit.* Virg. Æneid. l. 11.

To my very good Friends and Tenants.

Letter **T**HE occasion of this is to give you my thoughts on the present juncture, which concerns not only you, but every Protestant and Free-born Man of England, I am confident, that wishes well to the Protestant Religion and his Country. And I also am persuaded, that every Man of you think both in danger, and now to lie at stake. I also am persuaded that every man of you will rejoyce to see Religion and Property settled; if then I am not mistaken in my conjectures concerning you

*Answer* My Lord, As I am one of your Tenants, so I hope I have not hitherto given your Lordship any just reason to complain, that I have neglected my Duty in that capacity. And seeing your Lordship is now pleased to treat me as a friend, so as to let me know what you are a doing; I presume to take a little more than usual freedom, but shall be careful to say nothing unworthy of that character: i. e. I intend to be very plain, and not to flatter nor provoke.

I confess then, that I am a Protestant, not only, as that signifies at large no Papist, but a Member of the Reformed Church of England, as established by Law. And that I am a Free-born Man of England, as that signifies one born a Subject to the King of England; I acknowledge that I wish well to the Protestant Religion and my Country, and that I think both at this Time in danger, both the Established Religion, and the Kingdom of England; and that I should rejoyce to see this Religion and Property settled, i. e. so well fixed upon the old Foundation of our Laws, that they might (if possible) be for ever out of danger of being shaken. So that one would think your Lordship not mistaken in your conjectures concerning me.

And when your Lordship asks

*Let. Can you ever hope for a better occasion to root out Popery and Slavery, than by joyning with the Prince of Orange? whose Proposals contain and speak the desires of every Man that loves his Religion and Liberty.*

*Ans.* If the P. of O. came only to make Proposals for rooting out of Popery and Slavery, and those such as your Lordship says, I do own that I should be like enough to join with him therein; for I am a hearty lover of my Religion and Liberty, would with all my heart put my hand to Proposals or a Petition of that nature, if legally managed, and in any measure likely to take Effect: But because I have not seen those Proposals, I must guess at the Methods proposed for the rooting out of Popery, &c. by your Lordship's Letter. And when I there read of Fighting; that the Nation is to be deliver'd by Force, and you hope this is the time for it—If the King prevail, if he gets the better; on the contrary, if we prevail, and I am willing to lose my Life in the Cause, &c. This makes it plain, That your Lordship (at least) would have Popery, at this very time, rooted out, by Force of Arms; That when you would have me join with the Prince of O. you would have me fight against the King, and you would now have Horses, Men and Money for that purpose. But if I should thus Equip myself, and one of my Neighbours should ask me, By what Authority dost thou these things, and who gave thee this Authority? What could I say to him? Would not every body laugh at me, if I thought a Letter of my Lord D—'s to me not as his Tenant, but as his Friend, were a good Commission for me to fight against my King? And they must of course, if permitted, urge your Lordship with the same Questions; or however conclude, because 'tis not to be imagined, you should have a Commission from the King to raise Men against himself, That you have one from the Prince of O. Now though I do not call in question his Authority in his own Country, nor so much condemn the Dutch-men that come with him, and fight by his Commission. Yet should any of us join with him in a War against our own most rightful King, this were never to be justified. Certainly this would be as ill a sign that we are true English-men, as Disobedience to our Parents, that we are Legitimate: Though we are English-men and Free-born, we are yet Free-born Subjects, and being born and bred in the Dominions, under the Government of the Kings of England, we do from our birth owe Duty and Allegiance to them: for which reason, Rebellion, as being against the Dictates and Obligations of Nature, is rightly called Un-natural, and 'twill deserve a worse name too, as being a violation of our Religion and our Oaths.

For, Has not your Lordship more than once, Testified and Declared in your Conscience, That the King's Majesty is the only Supreme Governor of this Realm? and that no Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power and Authority Ecclesiastical or Civil within this Realm? Did you not then swear from your heart, That you would bear Faith and true Allegiance to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, and Him and Them Defend to the uttermost of your Power against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever, made against His or Their Persons, Crown and Dignity? Did you not then Declare, That no Person whatsoever hath power to absolve you from these Oaths? That you made this acknowledgment without Equivocation, &c. sincerely, upon the Faith of a Christian: So help you God, &c.

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O my Lord, will you now be pleased to lay *your hand upon your heart*, and consider, whether you can join with the P. of O. against the King, without a manifest breach of these Oaths, without incurring the guilt of *Perjury*, and forfeiting all the Help and Blessing you might otherwise expect from God Almighty? Will you be pleased to consider *Ecclef. 8. 2. I counsel thee to keep the King's Commandment*, and that in regard of the Oath of God, and Dr. Patrick's excellent Paraphrase and Annotations thereupon. For my part I look upon Equivocations in, and Abolutions from, Oaths; and, a belief, *That a good Intention will justify evil Actions*, as Jesuitical Principles and Practices. And therefore cannot do what your Lordship now desires me, though it were to root out Popery and Slavery, because I may not *do evil, that good may come*; and of them that do so, the Apostle says, *Rom. 3. 8. Their damnation is just*. And whereas your Lordship says,

*Let. I will invite you to nothing but what I will do myself, and I will not desire any of you to go any further than I move myself, neither will I put you upon any danger, where I will not take my share in it.*

*Ans.* I grant that if the Enterprize were good, or not apparently unlawful, your example would be a great encouragement, especially to your Tenants, to go along with you. But seeing St. Paul bid the *Corinthians* (1 *Epist. 11. 1.*) follow him, no farther than he followed Christ, and seeing St. Peter (1 *Epist. 2.*) has proposed Christ, as an Example of Submission to the King as Supreme, and to Governors *sin* by him. And, for an example of *Patience* in suffering for well doing; did your Lordship now follow this example, I would most readily have followed your Lordship: But when you *Arm against the King*, and would have us to follow you, I cannot but reflect upon that Command of God, *Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil*: and being told by St. Paul, *That they who resist, shall receive to themselves damnation*; I must beg your excuse, if I am not willing to go to the Devil, though I should be sure of your Lordship's Company.

*Let. I propose this to you not as you are my Tenants, but as my Friends, and as you are English-men; No Man can love Fighting for its own sake, nor find any pleasure in Danger; And you may imagine I would be very glad to spend the rest of my days in Peace, I having had so great a share of Troubles. But I see All lies at stake, I am to chuse whether I will be a Slave and a Papist, or a Protestant and a Freeman: and the case being thus, I should think my self false to my Country, if I sat still at this time.*

*Ans.* As for *English-men* and *Freemen*, I have said somewhat already, and of *Fighting for its own sake*, I might have thought as your Lordship does, if when things began to mend, and we had some hopes of Peace and Settlement, you had not been making ready for the Battle; And if now your *All lies at stake*, 'tis for ought I see of your own Setting, but you are to chuse whether you will be a Slave and a Papist, or a Protestant and a Freeman. And what greater Freedom can a Man desire, than the Liberty of chusing what he will be? one would think, by this, there were little danger of our being over-run with Popery and Slavery, when every Man is left to his own choice, whether he will be a Papist or Protestant, a Slave or Freeman; but perhaps I mistake your Lordship's meaning, because you say, *You should be false to your Country if you sat still*: But then I pray, my Lord, once more consider, whether you can be True to God, and to the King, to your Oaths, and your own Conscience, while you *Stir* so much against him whom you are Sworn to Assist according to your power, against all Conspiracies; and whether you do not reproach your Country by this insinuation.

*Let. I am of Opinion, That when the Nation is Delivered, it must be by Force or by Miracle: it would be too great a presumption to expect the latter, because God Almighty, in the Method of his Providence, works by Second Causes; and therefore our deliverance must be by Force, and I hope this is the time for it.*

*Ans.* I shall not here Dispute your Lordship's notion of a *Miracle*, because that would be a digression, but crave leave to mind your Lordship that *Second Causes* and *Force* do not always signify the same thing; And that God Almighty, who, (as your Lordship very well observes) in the *Method* of his Providence, works by *Second Causes*, does very often make use of wicked Men, and their wicked Actions, as the *Second Causes* he works by. (Bringing good out of evil) As (not to trouble you with many instances) should your Lordship and your Confederates succede in this attempt, do the very thing, and by the means you speak of, what would you contribute more to the delivering of the Nation, than Herod and Pontius Pilate did to the saving of the World. They were a sort of *Second Causes* (instruments of the One, as you pretend to be of the Other) and by shedding of Blood, both: nor may you expect more Statues from Posterity, than they have had from our fore-Fathers.

But why, my Lord, so positive. Therefore it must be by Force? I see no reason, but because 'tis your Lordship's Opinion; Is there no medium between Miracle and Force? No room for Counsels, Treaties, Parliaments? And is Force *All* that you meant by the PROPOSALS of the P. of O? Then I verily believe they are not such as speak the desires of every Man that loves his Religion and Country.—If this Argument for Force were good, I wonder the *New Testament* should say so much against the use of it, and so little to bid us look for *Miracles*. And I wonder more that the Christians of the following Ages, did not make use of it, when 'twas in the power of their hands to do so, and they had as much need of, did as much desire a deliverance, as we at this time can.—If your Lordship please (at your leisure) to read the 24. and 26. Chapters of 1 *Samuel*, I am almost confident you will be convinced, that there are other ways even for our Deliverance, than those you name; and that this of Force is most unlawful in the present Case, when you have considered that of David, with all its circumstances; Who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's Anointed, and be guiltless? But what if God does not yet see good to deliver this Nation from Popery? What if he has determined to prove us a little longer therewith? What would this your Force then be, but on that account (as well as some others) a Fighting against God? A Resisting the Will and Providence, and Ordinance of God. However, to speak of Force, or a deliverance by Force, and then say, *I hope this is the time for it*, does not, my Lord, look, as if you were yet weary of Troubles, and should be very glad to spend the rest of your days in Peace; no nor what follows:

*I et.*



## The Lord Delamere's Letter Answered, &c.

*Let. A Price is now put into our hands, and if it miscarry, for want of Assistance, our Blood is upon our own heads. And he that is 'Passive at this time, may very well expect, that God will mock when the fear of that comes upon him, which he thought to avoid by being indifferent.*

*Ans.* Meeting here with some Scripture language, I took my Bible to find the places, and (to see the luck on't) I there light on Such sentences, Admonitions, &c. as must for ever render this your Letter ineffectual to all that will consider them, unless any should doubt, whether your Lordship or Solomon were the wiser Man. — That of a price put into your hands is in Prov. 17. 16. but (to say nothing of the reflecting Quære there) as I was reading the verses a little before, I could not but set a mark on v. 11: *An Evil Man seeketh only Rebellion, therefore a cruel Messenger shall be sent after him.* — God will mock when their fear comes, is in Prov. 1. and in reading that whole Chapter, I could not but look on a considerable part of it, as most earnestly dissuading me, from what your Lordship would persuade us to, especially from v. 10. — *My Son, if Sinners (and your Lordship so convariant with the Holy Scriptures, cannot but remember who be there called Sinners against their own Souls, as being greater sinners than other Men. If such Sinners) entice thee, consent thou not, if they say come, let us lay wait for Blood, we shall find all precious substance, we shall fill our houses with spoil, cast in thy lot among us, let us all have one purse, i. e. according to a modern paraphrase, if they say we will see thee recompens'd as well as our selves. Yet, says Solomon. My Son, walk not thou in the way with them, retain thy foot from their path, for their feet run to evil, they make hast to shed blood, and they lay wait for their own blood.* This last comes near your other phrase too, but if you took that from 2 Sam. 1. 16. or from Acts. 18. 6. it nevertheless makes against you. For 'twas to the Jews that opposed themselves (as they were an unquiet and disobedient people to all their Governours) that S. Paul for that very reason in the one place, said, *Your blood be upon your own heads;* And to whom David in the other had said, *How wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thine hand to destroy the Lord's Anointed;* he said also, *Thy blood be upon thy head.* And had I gone along with your Lordship, to deliver by force; i. e. in this case by Rebellion, I could not but fear, that I should bring the blood of others also upon me and upon my Children. — Having thus taken off the varnish, and shew'd these scripture-phrases, to be most unluckily pick'd up, and grievously misapplied, 'twill be the easier to see, that the Things they were design'd to cover, are most ungodly and unchristian. — For what's the first part of this paragraph, (pardon the comparison, for I speak to the Thing, without respect to persons) but what a High-way Robber would say to his Comrades, Look ye, here's a good booty, and we have a fair opportunity, let's be true to, and assist one another: for if we be taken, we shall be hang'd for't? And how (in the name of God,) can your Lordship say — *He that is passive may very well expect, that God will mock at him;* when St. Peter says (1. Ep.) if ye do well and suffer for it, and take it patiently; this is acceptable with God. And rejoyce in as much as ye are partakers of Christs sufferings, and if ye are reproached for the name of Christ (nicknam'd passive, &c. for following his doctrine and example) happy are ye, for the Spirit of Glory and of God resteth upon you. I beseech your Lordship to consider these and the like Scriptures, and shall then hope, you will retract this impious and rash period; which tho' it may imply some threatening too, for my part I cannot fear it while I have the word of God for my protection.

*Let. If the King prevail, farewell Liberty of Conscience, which has been hitherto allow'd, not for the sake of the Protestants, but in order to settle Popery, you may see what to expect if He gets the better; and he hath lately given you of this Town a Taste of the method whereby he will maintain his Army, and you may see of what sort of people he intends his Army to consist.*

*Ans.* I know not what to reckon This, My Lord, but an open declaring War against the King; and therefore 'tis the less wonder you should speak so much evil of the ruler of the People, and take occasion from the Quartering of a few Soldiers in their March, to slander the footsteps of God's Anointed. What you say of the design in allowing Liberty of Conscience, is a shrewd Reflection upon the Addressers that were so fond of it, and I leave it to be answer'd by them.

And seeing you speak of the Method of maintaining Armies, I cannot but call to mind what happen'd when I was young, and how the old Parliament Forces were maintain'd; We were then undone by an Army, that was rais'd to save Charges. And they who came to ease us of our burthens, quite broke our backs; Our State-Physicians made us then believe we were dangerously sick, but prescrib'd such Remedies (the Taste of which comes now fresh in my mouth) as every body found to be worse than the disease, and I have no great heart to try the experiment a second time.

*Let. And if you have not a mind to serve such Masters, and stand by and see your Countrymen perish, when they are endeavouring to defend you: I promise this upon my word and Honour to every Tenant that goes along with me, That if he fall, I will make his Lease as good to his Family as it was when he went from home.*

*Ans.* The beginning here is just the old way of talk, and 'tis sufficient answer to say, We have been once already most shamefully cheated by it: The rest is somewhat new, and therefore the fitter to be consider'd — You promise upon your word and Honour, &c. I pray, My Lord, bethink your self, from whom and for what you had this Honour. I remember when Mr. C — preach'd at my good Lord, your Father's Funeral he recited a clause in his Patent for a Baron, which told us, that the King gave it him for his Loyalty, and the Service he had done in Cheshire, &c. And I have heard, Your Lordship repeated the same at your Trial in Westminster Hall, brought it for Evidence that you could not be guilty of the Treason, you were then accus'd of, because your Father had been Loyal, and had receiv'd that mark of his Majesty's favour; your Father then had his Honour from the King, and for his Loyalty to the King, and while you inherit the One, 'tis reasonable to expect you should the other also; but how odly would this your Letter hang, if tack'd to that Patent? And the World can never look upon it, but as most base and ungrateful, when they see that Honour which was given the Father for his service to the Crown, pawn'd by the Son to take up Money and raise Men against the King. — Nor is any thing more ready to be objected to this your promise, even by ordinary people, than, — How can we trust to his word and Honour

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Honour, who is so unfaithful to the King, altho' he had confirm'd his word to him, with an Oath of Fidelity? as also what will this promise of *Leasing* signifie, if my Lord himself should fall? and he has at the same time promis'd to be in as much danger as any of us. — I remember a Story of one (that had not all the wit in the World) who being sick, and horribly afraid of dying, his friends thoughts to comfort him by saying, *When you are dead, six tall handsome Men shall carry you to the Church.* Ay (said he) That would be very fine, but I had rather a great deal go thither myself. — And should not I be worse than an Idiot, if I should venture my life, and Soul too, upon the uncertain hopes, that when I fall, another (I know not who) shall come into my room?

Let. The thing then which I desire, and your Country does expect from you is this, That every Man that has a tolerable Horse or can procure one, will meet me on Bowden Downs to morrow, where I Rendevouse: but if any of you is render'd unable by reason of Age or any other just excuse, then that he will mount a fitter person, and put s<sup>t</sup>. in his pocket. Those that have not, nor cannot procure Horses, let them stay at home, and assist with their purses, and send it to me with a particular of every Man's contribution.

Ans. My Lord, I should (as I said before) be ready to assist your Lordship upon any good and warrantable occasion, with my person and my purse (tho' by the bye I assure your Lordship, that a Horse and s<sup>t</sup>. will come to a great deal more, than the Kings souldiers cost me, or than his Majesty has had of me any otherways, of some years) but I have said enough (I hope) to have you pardon me in this thing. And because your Rendevouse and March was to be so soon after your Letter came, that I had not time to write so long an answer, I'll take care that this be left with a Friend, who (I hope) will send it to your Lordship, and have me excus'd.

Let. I impose upon no Man, but let him lay his hand on his heart and consider what he is willing to give, to recover his Religion and Liberty; and to such I promise and to all that go along with me, that if we prevail, I will be as industrious to have him recompens'd for his charge and hazard, as I will be to seek it for my self.

Ans. Here we have but a bare promise, and not one jot of Honour to support it; indeed That was wisely enough left out, when the thing is so extremely mean and ungenerous, when the personated Hero declares himself a Souldier of Fortune, and the famed Patriot becomes a profess'd Self-seeker. One would have thought so glorious an expedition for the Deliverance of our Nation, for the recovery of Religion, and Liberty, would have pretended at least to so much of virtue, as to be its own reward, but to talk of further Recompence, and be industrious to seek it, is a shrewd intimation that the publick good is to be resolv'd at last into private interest, that this undertaking is nothing else, but the Carolina-Affair revers'd; A conspiracy for the sake of Trade. And when a few Interlopers have gotten it into their own hands, experience may make us fear what rates they will set; The Cry is like to be the same still, What will you give for Religion and Liberty? And who can tell what will satisfy the Daughters of the Horse Leach? to be sure, they that buy dear, will never sell cheap. — He that heretofore by this very Artifice, took up so much money and Plate (till it came to Thimbles and Bodkins) on the credit of the publick Faith, did certainly, for all that, impose upon his customers: and is there not as great a hazard, when we have but a Single promise? whether, Let them assist with their purses, and send me every Mans contribution, when said by a Lord to his Tenants, be not a kind of imposition, I leave the Criticks to determine. But because you say so gravely, Let him lay his hand on his heart, and consider. — Let me mind your Lordship of a Remark of Arch-Bishop Usher on 1. Sam. 10. 26. (Power of the Prince &c. p. 126.)

Surely if they who went with their King, had their hearts touch'd by God, such as bend their endeavours another way should do well to lay their hand upon their heart and consider with fear and trembling, whether they find not there some Touch of that Spirit which worketh in the Children of Disobedience.

Let. This Advice I give to all that stay behind, that when you hear the Papists have committed any Outrage, or are Rising; That you will get together; for tis better to meet your danger, than expect it.

Ans. What's the meaning of the Papists committing any Outrage, and others getting together thereupon, I dare not say, because your Lordship does not: but to advise common people thus, does look very like bidding them be ready for Riots and Insurrections, and that upon any flying story, and however, false report.

Let. I have no more to say, but that I am willing to lose my life in the Cause, if God see good: for I never was unwilling to dye for my Religion and Country.

So I rest your Loving Friend

DE L A M E R E.

Ans. I pray God, your Lordship may not die in this cause, lest then you perish in the gainsaying of Core: for I am fully persuaded, The cause, tho' it be Old, is not good enough to make a Martyr. I pray that you may live, to repent of your engaging in it; and return to your duty to the King, and to the Church of England, That you may consult and promote the Credit, and true interest of the establish'd Religion and your Country — I pray God to forgive all our Enemies, Persecutors and Slanderers, and to turn their hearts: And from Battle and Murder and sudden Death, from all Sedition, Privy Conspiracy and Rebellion, from all false Doctrine, Heresie, and Schism, from hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word and Commandments;

Good Lord, deliver us.

My Lord, if I have any where been more bold than becomes a Tenant; I hope the Friend will answer for it, and that upon the whole matter I have said nothing unbecoming a Genuine Son of the Church of England, and your Lordship's,  
most humble Servant, &c.